

FILE

25X1

SUBJECT: AFGHANISTAN-PAKISTAN: Air Attacks

25X1

NESA M#86-20083

DISTRIBUTION:

EXTERNAL

- 1 - Sandra Charles (DOD)
- 1 - Captain Edward Louis Christiansen, USN (DOD)
- 1 - Dr. Stephen Cohen (State Department)
- 1 - H. Allen Holmes (State Department)
- 1 - Ron Lorton (State Department)
- 1 - David Hatcher (DOD)
- 1 - Mark Palovitz (DOD)
- 1 - Wendy Chamberlin (State Department)
- 1 - Major Andrew Ritezel (DOD)
- 1 - Mr. Herbert Hagerty (State Department)
- 1 - James Larocco (State Department)
- 1 - Robert Peck (State Department)
- 1 - Vince Cannistraro (NSC)
- 1 - Darnell Whitt (DOD)
- 1 - Elie Krakowski (DOD)
- 1 - [REDACTED]

DATE 6/5/86 FILEDOC NO NESA M 86-20083OCR 3

25X1

P&PD 1

INTERNAL

- 1 - DIR/DCI/DDCI Execu Staff
- 1 - DDI
- 1 - NIO/NESA
- 1 - C/DDO/NE/ [REDACTED]
- 1 - D/NESA
- 1 - DD/NESA
- 1 - C/NESA/PPS
- 2 - NESA/PPS
- 1 - C/PES
- 6 - CPAS/IMC/CB
- 1 - PDB Staff
- 1 - NID Staff
- 1 - C/NESA/SO
- 1 - DC/NESA/SO
- 1 - C/NESA/AI
- 1 - C/NESA/IA
- 1 - C/NESA/PG
- 1 - C/NESA/SO/A
- 1 - C/NESA/SO/PB
- 1 - C/NESA/SO/S
- 1 - [REDACTED]

DDI/NESA/SO/PB/ [REDACTED] (3 June 86)

25X1

25X1
25X1

25X1

Central Intelligence Agency



Washington, D. C. 20505

DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE

3 June 1986

AFGHANISTAN-PAKISTAN: Air Attacks [REDACTED]

25X1

Summary

Soviet and Afghan airstrikes into Pakistani territory have increased considerably during the past two months, but are still confined to the border area. The airstrikes mainly reflect the increasing tempo of Soviet and Afghan military operations in eastern Afghanistan but may also be meant to apply political pressure on Islamabad. US-supplied F-16 aircraft and missiles have improved Pakistan's air defenses, but have not deterred the attacks. As long as Soviet and Afghan ground activity continues near the border, we expect airstrikes will continue at high levels. Islamabad is likely to use continuing attacks to justify requests for more advanced military equipment. [REDACTED]

25X1

* * * * *

Cross-Border Air Violations Increase

Aircraft from Afghanistan have violated the Pakistani border at a substantially increased rate over the past. According to the Pakistani Foreign Ministry, aircraft have crossed the border about 380 times so far this year compared with about 275 incidents in all of 1985 and only about 100 in 1984. Although we do not have precise statistics, air strikes during the first few years of the war almost certainly did not exceed the 1984 level. Roughly one-fourth of the air violations last year were bombing or rocket attacks, usually lasting less than 15 minutes; the others were probably reconnaissance flights in search of insurgent camps or accidental overflights in the wake of bombing runs on the Afghan side of the border, [REDACTED]

25X1

This memorandum was prepared by [REDACTED] the Pakistan/Bangladesh Branch, South Asia Division, Office of Near Eastern and South Asian Analysis. Information as of 2 June 1986 was used in its preparation. Questions and comments should be directed to Chief, South Asia Division [REDACTED]

25X1

25X1
25X1

NESA M#86-20083

25X1

25X1

25X1

[redacted] the airstrikes this year have caused increased casualties--mainly among Afghan refugees--and that airstrikes, which previously consisted only of four to six aircraft, now sometimes involve as many as 15 planes. The most aggressive attack so far occurred in January when several helicopter gunships strafed and rocketed a small Pakistani airfield and surrounding farmers' houses at Parachinar for more than one hour. [redacted]

25X1

25X1

The attacks have been confined to the border area. Most attacks--as well as most overflights--have not penetrated Pakistani territory more than 5 miles, [redacted] The deepest attack, 15 miles, occurred in May 1985. The deepest overflight occurred in October when a plane flew 60 miles into Pakistan. [redacted]

25X1

25X1

Aircraft from both the Soviet and Afghan Air Forces are violating the border, in our view. Pakistani border guards regularly distinguish between Afghan Air Force MIG-21s and Soviet Air Force MIG-23s. Cross-border attack missions in support of Soviet ground operations near the border are almost certainly flown by Soviet pilots because Moscow does not allow the Afghan Air Force to support Soviet ground troops [redacted]

25X1

25X1

25X1

We believe that the cross-border airstrikes are intended to support Soviet and Afghan ground operations in eastern Afghanistan. Nearly all the attacks have occurred along major insurgent infiltration routes into Afghanistan, [redacted] We believe that the attacks have increased significantly because Soviet and Afghan Army units are operating more often near the border. [redacted]

25X1

25X1

A secondary purpose of the attacks is to put pressure on Islamabad to reduce its support for the insurgents, in our view. Cross-border air attacks usually increase moderately during UN-sponsored negotiations at Geneva, although always in the context of ground operations near the border. A Pakistani Foreign Ministry official told the US Embassy last April that Soviet and Afghan aircraft have recently begun to attack Pakistani border posts to apply political pressure. Although we believe Pakistani border posts have not been primary targets in the past--and it is too early to identify a trend--there is some evidence to suggest that the posts sometimes may be specifically targeted. [redacted]

25X1

Islamabad's New Defenses and Tactics Achieve Mixed Results

[redacted] Pakistan has deployed new air defense missiles and adopted more aggressive tactics in the face of the increased air attacks:

25X1

-- Islamabad began deploying surface-to-air missiles--Stingers,

25X1

25X1

[redacted]

Redeyes, SA-7s, and French Crotales--to supplement its heavy machineguns beginning in mid-1985.

- Pakistan's F-16s began flying random patrols with AIM-9L infrared air-to-air missiles along the border last February.
- The quick reaction of Pakistani forces suggests that permission from the Defense Ministry before attacking intruding aircraft is no longer required.
- Islamabad purchased 50 to 100 Swedish RBS-70 laser-guided missiles in 1985 and seven Swiss Oerlikon radar-controlled air defense guns this year. [redacted]

25X1

Pakistan has had mixed success with its new defenses. Pakistani F-16s shot down at least two intruding aircraft, and possibly another, with five AIM-9L missiles in two incidents in April and May 1986, [redacted]

[redacted] On the other hand, [redacted] --with only one confirmed kill and possibly a second--before withdrawing the missiles from the border in April because of technical problems. Pakistani border guards also have fired at least 15 Redeyes and SA-7s without success [redacted] Pakistan has shot down three aircraft with heavy machineguns since 1978, say the sources. [redacted]

25X1

25X1

25X1

Islamabad's occasional successes have failed to deter Soviet and Afghan air attacks. [redacted] border violations have continued immediately after each air loss. The most aggressive attack to date--the helicopter gunship strike against the airfield last January--occurred soon after the first shootdown of an aircraft by Stinger surface-to-air missiles. [redacted]

25X1

25X1

Nonetheless, we judge that Islamabad believes its greater aggressiveness has served important purposes:

- The Pakistani military has shown the Soviets and Afghans that they cannot bomb the border area with impunity.
- Islamabad may feel that its new air defense missiles discourage deeper attacks.
- Pakistan has demonstrated--at a time when a second aid package is under consideration--that the Pakistani military can and will use US-supplied weapons to defend its air space. [redacted]

25X1

25X1

25X1

Outlook

Air violations are likely to remain at higher levels as long as Soviet and Afghan ground activity continues near the border area. We believe Soviet and Afghan fighters will begin to accompany ground attack aircraft more regularly to protect them from the F-16s and may try to lure an F-16 into Afghan airspace. The US Embassy reports that the Pakistanis believe that Soviets/Afghans attempted to lure Pakistani F-16s into ambushes over Afghan territory early this year. Soviet and Afghan aircraft are armed with radar-guided infrared missiles which have a longer range than the AIM-9Ls, but are less accurate. []

25X1

If Pakistan begins to use its surface-to-air missiles more effectively, Soviet and Afghan aircraft probably will fly higher--as they sometimes do in Afghanistan--to avoid the missiles. This tactic would reduce bombing accuracy and make the aircraft more vulnerable to Pakistani radar detection. []

25X1

Soviet and Afghan air violations probably will remain confined to the border area. We doubt the Soviets and Afghans will attack Pakistani military targets or insurgent headquarters in Peshawar and Quetta--cities that are 25 and 60 miles respectively from the border--because of concern about the US response and the likely international outcry. We believe that Moscow and Kabul calculate that the greatest utility of air attacks will continue to be against insurgent supply lines that are close to the border. Moscow and Kabul also probably believe that their sabotage campaign in the Pakistani border area--which caused about 50 deaths and 150 injuries last year--is as effective as deeper cross-border air attacks in intimidating Islamabad and harassing insurgents. In our view, the Afghan insurgents may be more influenced by the sabotage campaign than by the punishment inflicted by a bombing campaign. Because the campaign is occurring in areas that have a more direct impact on Pakistani citizens, it affords more opportunities to weaken Pakistani support for the insurgents. []

25X1

Implications for the United States

Islamabad will ask the United States for increased military assistance to counter the airstrikes, in our view. Pakistani officials will almost certainly renew their requests for more AIM-9L missiles, and they may ask for the Stinger Post--an advanced version of the Stinger scheduled to enter the US inventory next year--because they still probably believe that it is a technologically superior missile. Islamabad may also formally request the E2-C Hawkeye airborne surveillance aircraft and the Improved-Hawk, a medium-to-high altitude air defense missile system that would enable Pakistan to attack nearly all intruding aircraft. Because of the E2-C's and I-Hawk's high price--about \$200 million--Islamabad may renew its request for supplementary aid outside the regular foreign military sales

25X1

[REDACTED]

25X1

program. The Pakistanis believe that such a program was discussed with Secretary Weinberger last February. [REDACTED]

25X1

[REDACTED]

25X1